

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY VALLETTA
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY MADRID

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 116464

EXDIS - NOFORN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE

SUBJECT: MALTESE CSCE OBJECTIVES

REF: VALLETTA 499 (NOTAL)

1. WE ANTICIPATE THAT MALTESE WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY A
ROLE AT BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS SIMILAR TO THAT WHICH
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THEY PLAYED AT CSCE NEGOTIATIONS. AT TECHNICAL PREPARATORY
MEETING WE CAN EXPECT THEM TO PRESS FOR WIDER REPRESENTATION
BY MEDITERRANEAN STATES AT SUBSTANTIVE MEETING IN FALL. AT FALL
MEETING THEY ARE LIKELY TO URGE EXPANSION OF MEDITERRANEAN
PROVISIONS OF FINAL ACT AND PUSH FOR SOME TYPE OF PERMANENT
POST-BELGRADE MECHANISM ON THE MEDITERRANEAN TO SUIT THEIR
PARTICULAR INTERESTS. WE CAN ALSO

EXPECT THEM TO USE PRESSURE TACTICS TO ACHIEVE THEIR AIMS,
AS THEY DID AT THE GENEVA CSCE NEGOTIATION.

2. INTERESTS OF US AND MOST OTHER WESTERN STATES ARE
FOCUSED ON EAST-WEST ASPECTS OF CSCE. MEDITERRANEAN SECTION
OF FINAL ACT, DEVELOPED LARGELY AT MALTESE INSISTENCE WITH
VARYING SUPPORT FOR VARIETY OF REASONS FROM FEW OTHER
CSCE STATES, TENDS TO DILUTE AND DETRACT ATTENTION FROM
ESSENTIAL EAST-WEST THRUST OF FINAL ACT. WE SEE NO ADVAN-
TAGE IN FURTHER EXPANSION OF REPRESENTATION BY NON-
PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES IN CSCE, OR OF
MEDITERRANEAN PROVISIONS OF FINAL ACT.

3. SOVIETS AT CSCE ALSO TENDED TO RESIST BRINGING
MEDITERRANEAN REPRESENTATION AND ISSUES INTO CSCE, AND
THEY MAY CONTINUE TO DO SO AT BELGRADE. HOWEVER, DE-
PENDING ON HOW SITUATION DEVELOPS AT FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS,
IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT SOVIETS MIGHT TAKE A MORE
POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD WIDER REPRESENTATION. SOVIETS
AND THEIR ALLIES ARE PRESENTLY HEAVILY OUTNUMBERED IN
CSCE FORUM BY WESTERN STATES, PARTICULARLY ON SENSITIVE
QUESTIONS RELATED TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREER MOVEMENT OF
PEOPLE AND IDEAS. THEY COULD DECIDE TO FAVOR WIDER
MEDITERRANEAN PARTICIPATION, IN ORDER TO REACH SOME
ACCOMMODATION WITH MALTESE AND OTHER NON-ALIGNED STATES
ON MEDITERRANEAN ISSUES TO SHIFT CSCE BALANCE MORE
IN THEIR FAVOR. SOVIETS COULD ALSO SEE SOME ADVANTAGE
IN MUDDYING CSCE WATERS AND STEERING ATTENTION OF
BELGRADE MEETING AWAY FROM THEIR RECORD OF IMPLEMENTATION
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OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREER MOVEMENT PROVISIONS OF FINAL
ACT.

4. AT THE PREPARATORY MEETING, WE INTEND TO SUPPORT
THE RULES OF PROCEDURE AND WORKING METHODS OF THE CSCE,
WHICH, ACCORDING TO FINAL ACT, ARE TO BE APPLIED
MUTATIS MUTANDIS TO FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS, AS THE BASIS
FOR OUR POSITION ON MEDITERRANEAN PARTICIPATION AT THE
MAIN MEETING. AT CSCE, IT WAS AGREED THAT NON-
PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES SHOULD BE INVITED
TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO MAKE CONTRIBUTIONS TO
BASKETS I AND II OF THE CONFERENCE'S WORK; SIX STATES
(MOROCCO, ALGERIA, TUNISIA, EGYPT, ISRAEL AND SYRIA)
CHOSE TO DO SO. AS THIS WAS THE PRACTICE AT THE CSCE,
AND SINCE THE WORKING METHODS OF THE CONFERENCE APPLY
TO THE FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS, WE WILL TAKE POSITION THAT
THE SAME PROCEDURES SHOULD BE FOLLOWED AT BELGRADE.

5. AT PREPARATORY AND MAIN MEETING, WE WILL NOT WISH TO

TAKE THE LEAD IN DEALING WITH MALTESE, BUT WILL DEFER TO EFFORTS BY MEDITERRANEAN STATES SUCH AS FRANCE, ITALY, SPAIN AND YUGOSLAVIA. AS EMBASSY INDICATES, ITALIANS ARE EVIDENTLY CONSIDERING WAYS TO DEFUSE EXPECTED MALTESE INITIATIVES. WE ARE WILLING TO HAVE ITALIANS UNDERTAKE THIS EFFORT, ALTHOUGH WE WISH TO KEEP THEM CONTINUOUSLY AWARE OF OUR OPPOSITION TO EXPANDED MEDITERRANEAN FORMULAS FOR CSCE, AND TO DISCOURAGE AMBITIOUS ATTEMPTS TO SATISFY MALTESE DESIRES. WE WILL BE INTERESTED IN ANY INDICATIONS OF EVOLVING ITALIAN VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT.

6. WE CONCUR WITH EMBASSY'S OBSERVATION THAT BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH MALTESE ON CSCE COULD ENCOURAGE THEM IN THEIR MEDITERRANEAN EFFORTS. INDEED, THIS CONCEPT, TOGETHER WITH REALIZATION THAT MALTESE HAVE LITTLE INTEREST IN EAST-WEST SUBJECTS OF IMPORTANCE TO US, HAS
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LED US TO CONCLUDE THAT WE SHOULD ONLY DISCUSS CSCE MATTERS WITH MALTESE AS THEY ARISE AT THEIR INITIATIVE IN NORMAL DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGES. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT ANY EARLY INITIATIVE BY US TOWARD MALTESE ON CSCE WOULD ONLY WHET THEIR APPETITES, AND THAT THEY WILL NOT, IN ANY CASE, NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY UNTIL THEIR CSCE LEVERAGE IS AT ITS MAXIMUM--PROBABLY DURING FINAL DAYS OF PREPARATORY MEETING FOR PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENTS, AND DURING FINAL DAYS OF MAIN MEETING FOR THEIR SUBSTANTIVE POST-BELGRADE IDEAS. YOU SHOULD ACCORDINGLY CONTINUE TO REFRAIN FROM RAISING CSCE WITH MALTESE, BUT BE GENERALLY RESPONSIVE WHEN THE SUBJECT COMES UP IN NORMAL DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGES, DRAWING ON GUIDANCE CONTAINED IN SERIES OF INSTRUCTION CABLES ON EXCHANGES WITH NEUTRALS.

7. FOR ALL ADDRESSEES: THE CONTENTS OF THIS CABLE SHOULD NOT REPEAT NOT BE DISCUSSED WITH FOREIGN OFFICIALS.

CHRISTOPHER

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